

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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The Unicorn Tapestries

'The Politics of the Judiciary'

Virginia Woolf and 'The Pargiters'

Donald Davie's imaginary museum

elloc and 'The Servile State'.

Shakespeare at the RSC

Pears' first Cyclopaedia

miners' library

The Kodak Girl, in her distinctive striped dress, was the central motif in Kodak advertising from 1910, when she first appeared drawn by John Hassall. This particular version is by Fred Perryman, the cartoonist most closely associated with the character. Perryman stayed young for more than thirty years, drawn by a couple of hands in a variety of homely and exotic settings. Her striped dress, it is said, had a strong influence on the fashion world. The girl in the photograph was completely without a Kodak Girl entrance," according to Brian Cox, curator of the Kodak Museum, and Paul Gentes of the National Geographic Society. "The Kodak Girl's Snapshot Photographs": The Rise, Fall, and Revival of a Pop Culture Icon. *Kodak*, 1988-1997, paperback, \$3.95.

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In place of politics

By Alan Ryan

C. B. MACPHERSON:
The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy
120pp. Oxford University Press.
£2.95.

We write about the "life and times" of persons and institutions only when they are dead, says C. B. Macpherson. But it is not his purpose to tell us that liberal democracy is dead and buried, dead beyond hope of resurrection, not even to tell us that it is dying beyond hope of resurrection. What he does tell us—and it will come as no surprise to readers of his previous books—is that liberal democracy cannot coexist with a capitalist economic and social system. The market and democracy are deadly enemies, the one thriving on inequalities of ownership and command, the other dying of them. What we call liberal democracy in the Western world may be liberal enough, but they must systematically betray their democratic aspirations, because those aspirations are simply inconsistent with the social and economic inequalities of "market society".

This thesis is not unfamiliar; it runs through R. H. Tawney's work and is the guiding thread of his *Equality*. None the less, it is a thesis which naturally appeals most readily to anyone of a Marxist or Marxist turn of mind, since to him it will be self-evident that capitalism involves inequalities of power which, if they persist, make a mockery of the formal equality of political power implied by such institutions as universal suffrage. Professor Macpherson, however, is a Marxist of sorts; but he is also a liberal. He does not envisage a sudden leap from a society riven by class conflict to a society in which spontaneous cooperation puts the whole political mechanism out of business and he does not envisage a sudden transformation of human nature such as would render it pointless to protect individual rights to free speech, political association, and the like. If socialism is the necessary foundation for the practice of democracy, it is no part of Professor Macpherson's case that we should ditch our present liberties the moment we socialize the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The apparatus deployed by Professor Macpherson is well known to his readers, and his extension to the writings of Beethoven, the Mills, Schumpeter and Dahl will seem a fairly obvious way of filling in some of the arguments of *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* and its subsequent essays on the theory and practice of democracy. (It says the more unabashedly for having changed a good deal of Professor Macpherson's machinery myself on just this target in an essay published five years ago, and having spent the subsequent five years revising the various misstatements in which I allowed myself to be led.) Macpherson distinguishes between theorists whose view of human nature is that of "man the infinite consumer and appropriator" on the one side, and those who think of man as a self-developing creature whose only duty is to develop and assert his individuality, on the other.

The possessive individualists of the first school think of the political system as a sort of market; its function is to maximize the flow of utilities to the political consumers. Since the economy is doing a good job in that direction already, the great function of the system is to keep those who are making their living in the market place free from the taxes and fraud of their fellows. The diligent and virtuous need political protection from the non-diligent wicked; what democracy is is the device whereby sufficient power can be assembled to do down the criminal, but under enough public control to keep it being used to do down the virtuous as well. The developmental theorists think of political life as a game in which men participate as players, not as consumers. The game is to be played on a level playing field; people are called on to make decisions on a basis of their own merits, not on a basis of their social position. The game is to be played on a level playing field; people are called on to make decisions on a basis of their own merits, not on a basis of their social position. The game is to be played on a level playing field; people are called on to make decisions on a basis of their own merits, not on a basis of their social position.

life of citizenship glorified by Pericles and his English worshippers.

The twentieth century, a Macpherson's reading of it, sees a collapse of the developmental model in the face of overwhelming evidence that modern man does not like politics; he is bored by politics, is ignorant of politics; the only model left in the field is the economic or market model, updated to take account of interferences in the market, such as oligopolistic political parties, and adjusted to explain how people who do not participate in political life even to the extent of bothering to turn out and vote none the less get a sufficient share of the goods and services churned out by the political system. But, far the obvious reasons alluded to above—and for some which Macpherson does not touch on, since, I suppose, they are covered by the all-encompassing notion of class disadvantage—the claim that everyone gets a fair share of the political system's handouts is implausible.

The alternative, however, is not easy to envisage. Macpherson does not suggest that the merits of direct participation in government are so enormous that we should simply break up existing countries into federated communes, within which face-to-face democracy would be practicable; what he wants is a system compatible with running a country the size of Canada as presently constituted. The answer that he suggests is something like a system of voters—though he, rather coyly, refers to them simply as "citizens"—who would be indirectly elected from below, and hence indirectly answerable to the public at large.

With the exception of a throwaway suggestion that there should be some provision for recall, in order to make sure that the higher council is responsible to the masses but to filter it. It is intrinsically no more radical a piece of machinery than Benjamin's Constitutional Code. But to this Macpherson would obviously reply, as in effect he does here, that the democratic quality of a political system is less the result of its "mechanical" properties, so to speak, than of its social basis. A society in which the rich and poor are at each other's throats cannot be a democracy, no matter what fancy mechanisms one dreams up; a society of near-equals, in which the economic system does not generate such antagonisms can be, though there is no certainty that it will be.

A good deal of what Professor Macpherson says is impossible to dispute. It is, for instance, perfectly true that James Mill's *Essay on Government* treats politics as a matter of securing effective control over rulers or rulers as possible; there is no hint of an appreciation that the women whose interests are confined to the safe keeping of their husbands and families are thereby diminished as human beings, and that lack of a control point of contrast with J. S. Mill's concerns, and with the argument of *The Subjection of Women*, Or Liberty and Representative Government, that self-governing human beings are to be preferred to well-looked-after sheep. But the broad sweep of Macpherson's categories distorts all sorts of details. For instance, Macpherson thinks that James Mill is committed to the view that men are by nature "infinite consumers and appropriators" and that this underlies his "just" of our rulers' insatiability. What Mill actually argued was that the appetites of rulers are insatiable, not simply because they are, but because rulers are in a special, and peculiar position; as the holders of power, they are called on to satisfy their appetites for power, and so they will always try to increase their power. But, to do this, they need allies and assistants, and to pay them they must make inroads on what their subjects have produced. What their subjects have produced.

Now, this does not in the least rely on an account of men as naturally infinite consumers; it relies on the analysis of the demands of a political position, and only rather remotely on basic human nature. Moreover, it relies on the fact that power is not like other objects of desire, where men will be content with moderate

quantities of whatever it may be. Mill plainly thought that men were and should be content with a modest living, and so far was he from endorsing the inequalities of wealth that are characteristic of a capitalist economy that he pointed to them as the great threat to good government in nineteenth-century Britain.

Agate, with his twentieth-century writers, Professor Macpherson looks at them from an odd angle. Joseph Schumpeter's "realistic" theory of democracy is laid out by Macpherson as an economic model of the political system, one where politicians are thought of as entrepreneurs, trying to sell voters packages of policies in exchange for their votes. It is quite true that Schumpeter sometimes represents his account in just this light, gleefully quoting the politician who remarked that he dealt in votes just like the businessman he knew dealt in oil. But it is not true that Schumpeter presses this economic analogy at all far. For, if Schumpeter had proposed to do this, he would have noticed rather swiftly that voters are a very inflexible currency he would have had to explain why he was so hostile to pressure groups, when on the face of it they introduce exactly the flexibility that the voting "market" lacks, and in the process he would have had to deal with Robert Dahl's *Preface to Democratic Theory* for him.

Schumpeter's conception of what politicians do when they are in power was, however, a good deal sweeter than Dahl's or Macpherson's.

The possessive case

By Bernard Crick

LAWRENCE C. BECKER:
Property Rights
Philosophical Foundations
147pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
£4.95.

A remarkable revival of academic political philosophy has taken place in recent years in the United States; and if the same is not true of this country, at least the discipline has not been so dead. A remarkable revival of academic political philosophy has taken place in recent years in the United States; and if the same is not true of this country, at least the discipline has not been so dead. A remarkable revival of academic political philosophy has taken place in recent years in the United States; and if the same is not true of this country, at least the discipline has not been so dead.

Lawrence Becker is concerned with the philosophical foundations of property rights. He examines closely the general justification offered for systems of private property rights, and in schematic fashion he considers the major arguments about the rights and responsibilities of property ownership. Justifications of property are, he says, derived from first occupancy, from labour, from utility, or from general notions of liberty and appropriate moral virtues. He also examines what he calls (in a slightly disparaging tone) "the standard anti-property arguments" based on distributive justice, desert, virtue and inequality, and the view that distributive justice takes precedence over private ownership.

It appears to be a disciple of Robert Nozick, and so is plainly prejudiced in favour of "minimal government", or at least a feeling that justifications for interference in other people's property have to be a stronger case than those for a restriction of property. The qualifications that emerge on property rights are potentially greater, however, than would please other disciples of Nozick, let alone of Hayek.

Professor Becker sees four main traditional justifications for property: First, there is Mill's argument from labour; second, when the labour put into something is beyond what it is required morally that one should do for others; when it produces something that would not have existed except for that labour; and when others lose something by being excluded from what it produces. Then, he is wrong for producers to exclude

others from possession, use, or management of the fruits of their labour. Second, an argument from desert or merit for labour: when labour is beyond what morality requires them to do for others, people positively deserve some benefit for the value their labour has added to the community. Third, utility: that people need to acquire and use some things peculiar to themselves in order to enjoy a reasonable degree of individual happiness and general welfare; and that security in possession and use of certain things is necessary for the state or others of things people need or want, make achievement of individual happiness and general welfare impossible or unlikely. Fourth, the argument from political liberty: that since people are always acquiring things, the effective prohibition of that activity requires a comprehensive and continuous abridgment of people's liberty—which is neither justifiable or too great a price to pay.

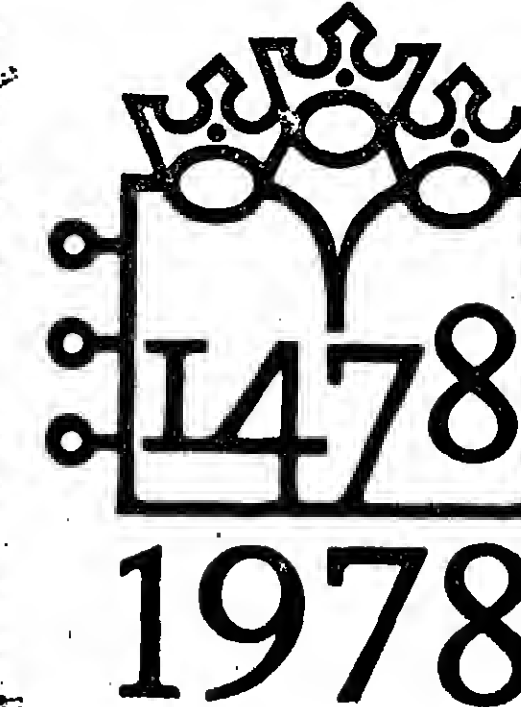
Then Becker identifies the main formal arguments against property. Social distributists claim that systems of private property rights inevitably produce inequalities of wealth of a kind that yield unjustifiable amounts of poverty and untreatable amounts of social instability. This argument is regarded as valid in principle, but is limited as to whether it is factually true (and he simply does not dispute that it is necessarily true). The argument is also limited in principle by the existence of a popular sentiment for liberty and a willingness to pay a price in terms of inequalities. The argument of self-interest points to the manifest absurdity of "the rights of the dead" as a competitive society. This he sees as an objection not to private ownership as such, but only to particular instances of how it is used. The way it is used has much to do with virtue, so another set of general objections to private property are concerned with the vicious effects it may have on character. He has much to say about this, except to say that he is not an argument that is perfectly reversible. He plainly favours reversing it.

The crucial issue he sees as lying in the relationship between utility and liberty. Neither can be disregarded; he does not think he is putting a platitude by saying that the balance between the two is a risky game. He takes a view of liberty which is entirely individualistic, ignoring socialist and republican accounts of it. He is also wrong for producers to exclude

our interests, and second, to give us the means of affecting our judgment of public policy to the public without taking the point that "consumer" and "participant" are both to be found in the same writer. But the opposite Professor Macpherson creates an underestimates the extent to which a defence of market society in self-developmental terms could go along with a defence of democratic politics. He has always assumed readily that all those who defend capitalism in character-building terms held that only the owners of capital were fully human.

Leaving aside the question of how far this illuminates other writers such as Locke—whom, to a mind, he treats in terms which apply, if to anyone, only to a manual Kant—this neglects the liberal's belief that the social mobility, the new diffusion of literacy and general education, made it possible for the split confident self-reliance to be fused throughout English society.

He is, of course, right to emphasize their doubts about the extent to which the lower classes could be integrated into the political system at the speed which seemed necessary. But he is wrong to leave the extent to which they also grasped the capacities of the English labouring classes, not with the English middle classes, with the whole population of industrial, stagnant societies such as India, and the extent to which he persuaded them that a working class electorate would not be benefited in obvious ways, access to political power, but would be intimidated and educated by a experience too.



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DIRECTOR

The British Institute of Recorded Sound invites applications for this post, which falls vacant in October 1978.

The Institute, an independent government supported body, is the recognised national archive of sound recordings, including music, literature and drama, speeches, historical events and wildlife sounds. It is one of the biggest and most active sound archives in the world. The post of Director calls for imaginative and practical qualities; it offers great scope for initiative.

The Director must be capable of formulating and executing policies relating to the wide range of subjects covered by the Institute's collections and activities. The person appointed will need to maintain close contact with libraries and organisations representing the arts, performers' unions and copyright agencies, the record industry, broadcasting and the academic world, etc.

Salary will be negotiable in relation to experience. Applicants should submit personal and professional curriculum vitae, references, to the Director, British Institute of Recorded Sound, 20 Finsbury Road, London, E.C.2.

CHELSEA COLLEGE

University of London

Applications are invited for the following appointments:—

1. Assistant Librarian

(Education)

To take responsibility for the education section of the library including acquisitions and assistance to research. The Assistant Librarian is in charge of the day-to-day operation of the Centre for Science Education (CSE) at Fulham. Applicants must have a good honours degree and professional qualifications, sound experience in education libraries and a knowledge of the literature of education essential. Salary (Grade 1A) £3,353 to £3,827 plus £450 London Allowance.

2. Senior Library Assistant

(Reading Services)

To take charge of the main library counter including responsibility for the ALS circulation system, the book security system and the short loan collection together with shaver general enquiries and supervision of junior staff. Applicants must be professionally qualified and must have good readers' service experience, preferably in an academic library.

3. Senior Library Assistant

(Acquisitions)

To take charge of book acquisitions procedures including day-to-day liaison with bookellers and work relating to donations and exchanges. Applicants must be professionally qualified and have experience in acquisitions work of a good knowledge of the book trade.

Salaries for appointments 2 and 3 will be on scale £3,318-£3,788 inclusive (London Grade 1A). Written applications for these appointments (two forms) together with a knowledge of two referees, should be sent to the Librarian, Chelsea College, Manresa Road, London SW3 6LX, by Friday, 18th January, 1978.

MARINE ENGINEERING TECHNOLOGY

YARD are an international technical consultancy providing a comprehensive service to navies, commercial ship owners and private enterprises in the marine, offshore and general industrial fields. We require the following personnel:

INFORMATION OFFICER

Salary £3,000-£3,500

For our Library and Information Services, Applicants should be graduates in a scientific and technical subject and/or information science. Some experience in information work would also be an asset.

We offer attractive conditions of service which include generous allowance for relocation.

For application form and further details please contact Joan Maher, Personnel Assistant (Ref 113), YARD Limited, Charing Cross Tower, Glasgow G2 4PP. Telephone 041-204 2737.

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

SALES EXECUTIVE

The successful applicant, who will be under 35 years of age, will be required to work closely with the Advertisement Manager, selling advertising space in both the T.L.S. and The Times to publishers in the United Kingdom and abroad. Upon completion of a satisfactory probationary period promotion to Assistant Advertisement Manager will be considered.

An interest in all aspects of publishing is desirable and a foreign language, preferably German or Italian, is required. Salary negotiable, four weeks' holiday rising to five weeks after one year, and other fringe benefits.

If you have the above qualifications and feel you would be happy to be part of a staff of hard-working specialists team, please write with details to: The Advertisement Manager, Times Newspapers Ltd., P.O. Box 10, New Printing House Square, Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ. Reference: T.L.S.17.

Children's Librarian

(£3,096-£3,925 + Supplements)

The Children's Librarian is responsible for the supervision of services to young people. In particular the duties involve cataloguing of junior stock, arranging collections for puppetry, organising school visits, editing the children's magazines, supervising story-telling sessions, purchasing all junior material and supervising withdrawals from stock.

Placing on the above scale will be according to qualifications and experience. The appointments paid will be £312 per annum and 5% supplement in accordance with Phase II.

Application forms can be obtained from: —
Manpower Services Department

Clydebank District Council

2 Hall Street, Clydebank. Tel. No. 041-552 1102/4, Ext. 59. Completed forms to be returned by Friday, 20th January.

KENT County Council Education Department

COUNTY LIBRARY THANET DIVISION

Divisional Children's Librarian

£3861-£4214 (includes supplement)

To be responsible for promoting and developing children's services throughout the Thanet division which is one of the largest in Kent with three large libraries, five small branch libraries and two mobile libraries.

Must be Chartered with relevant experience. Particulars and application forms, returnable by 20 January, from the County Librarian, Library Headquarters, Springfield, Maidstone, ME14 2LH, phone (0622) 871411, ext. 3212.

PROGRAMME ASSISTANTS required

for HUNGARIAN SECTION of External Services in London. Applicants with Hungarian as own or best language must have thorough knowledge of English, ability to translate accurately from English into Hungarian and good microphone voice. Degree level of education or substantial knowledge of Hungarian cultural and political life. Broadcasting or journalistic experience an advantage. Three-year contract post.

Salary: £5151 p.a., rising after six months satisfactory probationary period to £5588 p.a., and to £5808 p.a. after one year, subject to continued satisfactory reports. Plus continuing unconsolidated allowance of £234 p.a.

Write or telephone immediately for application form quoting reference 77/G.1688.TLS, to Recruitment Office, External Services, BBC, Bush House, Strand, London WC2B 4PH. Tel: 01-240 3458, Ext. 2898.



Assistant Borough Librarian £6,844-£7,519

This large London system requires an Assistant Borough Librarian to be responsible for all public library service points and for the Slough/Reading Department. This is a joint second-tier post and the successful candidate should be professionally qualified and have had wide experience in a supervisory capacity in the public library field. This experience should also include computerised library techniques.

Telephone 01-707 2870 anytime for an application form, or write on a postcard to The Personnel Officer, London Borough of Southwark, 27 Packham Road, SE5 8UB. Please quote ref. T.L.S./77952 and job title. Closing date: 27.1.78.

Southwark